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THE VOTE.

An Increase All Along the Line, Doubling and Tripling in Some Places.

DE LEON'S VOTE RISES ABOVE 2,200 FROM 1,800 LAST YEAR.

The S. L. P. Now Holds the Balance of Power in New York State.

COLORADO.

DENVER, Colo., Nov. 10.—The returns are yet far from complete, but the S. L. P. will not be much, if any, below 3,000. Last year we had 1,444.

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 8.—The S. L. P. vote in the State of Connecticut has doubled. It will run up to about 2,800 against 1,223 at the last election (1896). In this city the head of the ticket polled 626 to 405 last time; in Hartford, 298 to 144 last time; in Bridgeport, 271 to 83 last time; in Rockville, 250 or 15 per cent. of the total poll to 69 last time; in Meriden, 116 to 83 last time; in West Haven, 25; in South Norwalk, 57 to 22 last election.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., Nov. 8.—There were counted for the S. L. P. today 420 votes here, but a much larger vote was polled. The difference was simply stolen by the capitalist politicians.

STAMFORD, Conn., Nov. 8.—The S. L. P. State ticket received here 98 votes against 31 for Matchett last election. A 300 per cent. increase!

MILFORD, Conn.—S. L. P. vote in this village, 9; a gain of 3.

ORANGE, Conn.—The S. L. P. increases from 12 to 35 votes.

ROCKVILLE, Nov. 10.—Our vigorous campaign was a success. Our increase from 69 to 270 places us only 170 behind the Democrats. We shall beat them next year.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON, Nov. 8.—The increase of the Socialist Labor party vote in Massachusetts is grandiose. It probably has more than doubled. The following table will give an idea. In the below 16 towns that last year gave 2,585, our ticket polled this year 4,642.

	1897.	1898.
Haverhill	252	453
Holyoke	301	541
Worcester	968	806
Lynn	197	372
Springfield	175	331
New Bedford	155	800
Clinton	140	212
Fitchburg	105	266
North Adams	102	245
Westfield	81	103
Stoneham	38	63
Ledham	23	44
Revere	12	60
Durham	..	104
Wakefield	..	104
Dedbust	..	61

BOSTON, Nov. 10.—Peare, for Governor, 1,260; in 1897 we had 1,062.

PITTSFIELD, Nov. 10.—Peare, for Governor, 142.

ABBINGTON, Nov. 10.—For Governor, 32; for Congress, 73.

BOSTON, Nov. 10.—For Governor in Cambridge 155, last year 132; in Newton 37; in Malden 136, last year 88; in Somerville 83; in Chalsea 132, last year 73; in Everett 81, last year 76; in Waltham 16, last year 20; in Medford 83; in Woburn 50, the same as last year; in Quincy 84; in Lowell 98, last year 88; in Lawrence 852, last year 265; in Salem 185, last year 48; in Beverley 14; in Marlboro 29; last year 21; in Brockton 192; in Newburgport 55; in Tisbury 11, last year 7.

ADAMS, Nov. 10.—For Governor 178; in 1897 we had 105.

NEW JERSEY.

HOBOKEN, N. J., Nov. 8.—Returns still incomplete; 136 Election Districts are yet to be heard from. The Wards that are so far in show an increase of 100 per cent.:

	1898.	1897.
1st Ward, 2nd District	17	7
1st Ward, 3rd District	21	8
2nd Ward, 1st District	22	12
2nd Ward, 3rd District	9	4
3rd Ward, 1st District	24	13
5th Ward, 1st District	12	6

The total vote will reach 400!

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 10.—Socialist vote last year in Essex County, 910. This year, 1,154.

PATERSON, Nov. 8.—Our vote rises slightly over last year's, it will be 1,100.

JERSEY CITY, Nov. 10.—

11th Ward.	1898.	1897.
1st Precinct	1	2
2nd Precinct	6	2
3rd Precinct	19	7
4th Precinct	19	7
5th Precinct	15	11
6th Precinct	25	11
7th Precinct	27	15
8th Precinct	41	38
9th Precinct	61	38
Total	209	138
12th Ward.		
1st and 3rd Precinct	31	19
3rd Precinct	35	37
4th Precinct	33	26
5th Precinct	36	32
6th Precinct	59	32
7th Precinct	17	33
8th Precinct	61	67
Total	263	224

A total by both Wards of 463 against 362 last year.

UNION HILL, Nov. 10.—1st Ward, 61; 2nd Ward, 46; 3rd Ward, 34. Total 141 against 116 in 1897.

PERTH AMBOY, Nov. 10.—There are 102 votes for Maguire for Governor; we had only 23 last year.

GUTTENBERG, Nov. 10.—The vote was 64 against 76 last election.

NEW YORK.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Nov. 8.—In 70 Election Districts in this city alone, the S. L. P. candidate, Benjamin Hanford, polls 1,920 votes. Last year all Onandaga County gave Cuno 951.

[Later.] Syracuse, Nov. 8.—Onandaga County: 2,240.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Nov. 8.—In 86 Districts of the city, where last year Cuno polled 628 votes, Hanford received today 1,175. In the other districts of the city we had last year about 100 votes. Erie County will certainly poll 1,300 votes as against 775 last year. The vote increased in the English districts as well as in the German. The 14th Ward, our Banner Ward, has 317 votes; last year, 225.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 8.—Hanford has here 915 votes, against 481 last year—nearly 100 per cent. increase. The vote in Monroe County, 1,104; last year 520. Sieverman, for Congress, 1,176.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 8.—So far Hanford is credited in this county with 190 votes. Cuno, last year, 78.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., Nov. 8.—The S. L. P. vote already runs up here to 75. Last year, 26. This means more than three times as much!

ONEIDA, N. Y., Nov. 8.—Hanford here polled 57 votes.

STAPLETON, N. Y., Nov. 8.—In Richmond County (part of Greater New York) Hanford receives 201 votes; Cuno, last year, 165. In the 2nd Ward Hanford has 85, Cuno had 48; in the 3rd Ward, Hanford has 52, Cuno had 30. At Linoleumville Hanford has 7, and at Grasmere he has 6.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y., Nov. 10.—Last year 36; Hanford this year 53 in 8 Election Districts; 3 more to be heard from.

PLEASANTVILLE, Nov. 10.—We have 31 votes in 5th and 6th Districts. I am told that there are 35 in the 1st District, and 14 in the 4th.

NORWICH, N. Y., Nov. 10.—We polled for Hanford 31 votes, an increase of 23 over last year.

UTICA, Nov. 10.—Hanford received 292 votes in Oneida County against 243 last year.

WAPPINGER FALLS, Nov. 10.—Four districts give Hanford 16; Balcam had 10.

BATAVIA, Nov. 10.—B. Hanford polls in Genesee County 26 votes; 14 last year.

JOHNSTOWN, N. Y., Nov. 10.—This city gives Hanford 67 votes; Cuno last year 35.

CORTLAND, N. Y., Nov. 10.—This county gives Hanford 29; last year none.

AUBURN, N. Y., Nov. 10.—Cayuga County gives Hanford 105; Cuno last year 37.

NEW YORK CITY AND COUNTY, incomplete returns on Nov. 10.:

Assembly District	Rep.	Dem.	Hanford 1898 Soc.	Hanford 1898 Proh.	Cuno 1897 Soc
1	1287	3517	38	7	32
2	1636	5243	111	4	111
3	2135	5068	67	10	66
4	2090	3850	514	2	586
5	3934	3622	75	10	71
6	2218	5085	202	4	223
7	2917	4707	66	32	48
8	1752	2279	382	1	481
9	3012	4641	124	17	114
10	2357	4141	654	..	755
11	2353	4403	111	12	154
12	1548	3323	700	6	934
13	1941	4318	272	3	194
14	2267	4885	598	8	575
15	2425	4516	218	13	151
16	1824	3743	1214	7	1162
17	2260	4454	144	14	156
18	1961	5737	368	11	243
19	5743	4436	107	10	85
20	2237	5531	178	11	139
21	7496	5955	140	25	139
22	2211	5448	164	18	171
23	5131	6030	177	18	168
24	2086	4789	260	14	319
25	4142	2960	41	17	42
26	2162	3982	513	8	549
27	4020	2718	25	9	25
28	2089	4835	535	8	605
29	5007	3708	45	11	48
30	2819	5936	560	6	537
31	6854	5644	95	20	89
32	3198	6049	446	11	413
33	2927	5024	204	8	184
34	5422	8779	374	28	366
35	6646	10007	580	46	543
Annexed	1190	2148	50	17	..
Total	111,591	172,213	10,452	444	10,564

BROOKLYN, incomplete returns on Nov. 10:

	1898 Hanford.	1897 Cuno.
1. Ward	46	15
2. "	18	8
3. "	25	41
4. "	44	19
5. "	23	17
6. "	50	59
7. "	34	28
8. "	167	97
9. "	58	37
10. "	47	60
11. "	29	24
12. "	67	63
13. "	70	61
14. "	71	69
15. "	121	104
16. "	403	498
17. "	265	261
18. "	131	162
19. "	160	169
20. "	16	19
21. "	330	321
22. "	196	151
23. "	44	20
24. "	33	39
25. "	78	80
26. "	369	367
27. "	460	468
28. "	656	626
29. "	20	29
30. "	33	32
31. "	7	1
32. "	3	9
	4470	3964

The vote in the 16th Assembly District of New York:

Election Districts	Hanford, 1898	De Leon, 1898	De Leon, 1897	Hoffman, (Dem.)	Cuno, 1897
1	87	129	95	130	72
2	96	136	131	130	90
3	61	112	111	136	68
4	47	69	76	144	47
5	74	146	104	164	66
6	30	62	54	111	25
7	46	84	96	114	68
8	71	141	131	161	89
9	57	118	99	151	56
10	94	130	176	121	135
11	67	134	97	134	51
12	71	129	87	195	53
13	54	93	93	178	61
14	45	102	61	..	28
15	55	90	86	150	58
16	61	127	82	197	51
17	38	69	47	178	24
18	39	95	56	259	27
19	38	81	64	..	21
20	29	83	53	152	25
21	49	81	59	114	36
Total	1,210	2,213	1,858	3,158	1,162

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE, Md., Nov. 9.—Meyer, for Congress, 275. This is almost a clear gain.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 9.—One-third city precincts reported. Approximate estimate gives Governor 600; Congressman 1,000; Mayor 900. Vote doubled.

OHIO.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 9.—All other parties lost heavily, we gained. From 1,604 in this city last year, we now have 2,206.

MAYNARD, Nov. 9.—In this city the S. L. P. polled 22, last year we started with 15.

PENNSYLVANIA.

READING, Nov. 9.—Returns from 42 out of the 45, election districts of this city give J. Malcom Barnes, candidate for Governor, 343. Indications are that we will poll 375 in city and 125 in county, making 500 in all for city and county (Berks). Of these 500 for the head of the ticket this county and city gave Grundy, candidate for Governor four years ago, 2 votes; in 1897 we polled 117 for head of ticket.

QUAKERTOWN, Nov. 10.—The vote in this borough was 10 for Barnes, the same as 1897; in the lower Richland District, it was 6—a clear gain.

STONEBORO, Mercer Co., Nov. 10.—We had 34 votes in this borough; 2 in 1896; 8 in 1897. Three cheers for the S. L. P.

SILVERDALE, Pa., Nov. 10.—The vote in this borough is Barnes 15; Quay's candidate Stone (Rep.) only 1 more, 16; Jenks (Dem.) 9; and Swallow 4. Hurrah!

ALTOONA, Pa., Nov. 10.—The vote in 1896 for Matchett was 77; last year Thomas polled 55; Barnes 67 with several precincts to hear from. We think our vote will reach 110 for the head of the ticket. The vote of our other candidates indicates that we will have a place on the ballot for county and Assembly without needing to get signatures. On to the 100,000!

RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Nov. 10.—Theinert, for Congress, 1st District, (Providence and East Providence, and Bristol and Newport counties), 1,140; Dana, for Congress, 2nd District, (Washington, Kent and Providence counties), 1,450. This places the S. L. P. vote in the State at 2,590. The vote for Governor this spring was 2,877.

Ballard, for Mayor of Providence, 1,118; last year Reid polled 795 for this office.

Stephenson, for Mayor in the City of Pawtucket, 188; last year Dana polled for this office 129.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 9.—Socialist Labor party vote 750 in this city. This is an increase of 300. There are still 6 Precincts missing.

CONFISCATION

That is What the Capitalist Class Does To-Day.

LABOR TAKES ITS OWN.

Through Its Private Ownership of the Tools Needed to Work With, the Capitalist Class Confiscates the Bulk of the Workers' Product—Through Its Crises, it Confiscates Regularly the Property of the Middle Class.

The enemies of Socialism, who, to hear them talk, one would imagine know better than the Socialists themselves what these are after, and who assume to forecast the Co-operative Commonwealth with greater accuracy than Socialists do, also declare that Socialism can never come into power except through a wholesale confiscation of property, including the furniture and the small savings of the industrious poor. Next to the charge of contemplating the "abolition" of the family, this one of "confiscation" is a favorite one with the mouth-pieces of capitalism.

Confiscation is not at all essential to socialist society. The socialist programme is silent upon the subject. It does not mention it, not because it is afraid of frightening people away, but because that is not a subject upon which anything can be said with certainty. The only thing that can be stated with certainty is that the tendency of the economic development renders imperative the social or national ownership and operation of the instruments of large production. In what way this transfer from private and individual into collective ownership will be effected; whether it will be a peacable or a forcible one—these are questions as impossible to answer to-day with certainty as it was impossible to answer similar questions with certainty forty years ago upon the subject of the abolition of chattel slavery; or as impossible as it was to answer similar questions with certainty a hundred and twenty-five years ago upon the subject of restraining the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain from reducing the American colonists to the condition of its East Indian ryots. Neither can past experience give much aid in this doubt. The transition may be effected, as was that from feudalism to capitalism, in as many different ways as there are different countries. The manner of the transition depends wholly upon the special and surrounding circumstances under which it is effected, as, for instance, upon the power and the enlightenment of the classes that are concerned, all of which are matters that can with difficulty be foretold; furthermore, the "unexpected" may happen, and this is an element that has played the most prominent role in the history of mankind.

It goes without saying that Socialists wish that this unavoidable transition could, be effected with no, or as little, friction as possible, in a peaceful way and with the consent of the whole people. Unfortunately, however, history will take its own course regardless of the wishes of both Socialists and their adversaries.

Nevertheless, this much may be said with certainty: even tough the course of events should force the transition from capitalist to socialist production via the road of confiscation, the economic development that has preceded us would render necessary the confiscation of only a PART of existing property. The economic development demands social ownership in the IMPLEMENTS OF LABOR only; it does not concern itself with, nor does it touch, that part of property, that is devoted to PERSONAL AND PRIVATE USES. Let us take one illustration, furnished by capitalism itself. What are savings banks? They are the means whereby the private property of non-capitalist classes is rendered accessible to the capitalists; the deposits of every single depositor are, taken separately, too insignificant to be applied to a capitalist industry; not until many deposits have been gathered together are they in a condition to fulfill the function of "capital"; in the same measure in which capitalist undertakings shall pass from private into social concerns, the opportunities will be lessened for would-be patrons of savings banks to receive interest upon their deposits; these will cease to be capital and to become purely non-interest-drawing funds. That, assuredly, is not confiscation.

The confiscation of such property is, moreover, not only economically unnecessary but politically improbable. These small deposits proceed mainly from the pockets of the exploited classes, from those classes to whose efforts mainly the introduction of Socialism will be due. Only he who considers these classes to be utterly senseless can believe they would begin by first robbing themselves of their hard earned savings in order to regain possession of their instruments of production.

But moreover, not only does socialist production not require as a condition precedent the confiscation of non-productive wealth, it does not even require the social ownership of all instruments of production.

That which renders the socialist system necessary is LARGE PRODUCTION. Production in common requires common ownership of the means of production. For the same reason that private ownership in the implements of labor is repugnant to the system of production in common that is carried on in large production, so likewise, would common ownership in the instruments of labor be repugnant where production can, and must necessarily be carried on by separate individuals. Production in such cases requires the private ownership by the worker in his tools. There are industries that are still carried on upon this small and individual system, and which tend to be absorbed by larger ones. The transformation of these into social industries, in other words, the transformation of the instruments requisite to them into social property, would be a matter of policy, to be determined in each case by its special circumstances. With regard to these industries, it were senseless to make any sweeping declaration except that, speaking generally, the nationalization of such instruments of production would be purposeless: the aim of Socialism is to place in the hands of the producer the requisite implements of labor. To turn into social property the implements of any such small industry would amount to nothing else than to withdraw them from their present owner and forthwith to give them back to him.

It follows that the Co-operative Commonwealth does not absolutely require the turning into social property of the instruments of production used in the handicraft trades that still exist and even in some branches of agriculture. The transition from the present to the socialist system would, not only take nothing away from such handicraftsmen and farmers, but give them positive advantages. Seeing that the tendency of socialist society is to substitute production for sale with production for use, it must be its endeavor to transform all social dues—taxes, interest that may accrue from mortgages upon property that has been nationalized, etc., in so far as these may not have been wholly abolished—from money payments into payments in kind. Such a change is equivalent to the raising of a tremendous burden from the shoulders of the small farmer. In many ways the small farming class strains for this identical end. The recent subtreasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance movement is an instance in point. But all these endeavors on their part are bound to be abortive so long as the system of production for sale continues in force. Only the Socialist Commonwealth can bring on that ideal of so many small farmers—payment in kind—and thereby remove one of the main causes of their ruin.

In point of fact the confiscators and expropriators are the capitalists; they it is who confiscate the property of all the toiling classes—wage-workers, small producers, working farmers, etc., etc. Socialist society will put an end to confiscation.

It must, however, be admitted that Socialism neither proposes to, nor can, stop the course of economic evolution. On the contrary, Socialism is to-day the only means by which to promote the evolution. The same as in modern society, so under the socialist system, large production will develop ever more, and absorb ever more small branches of industry. In his respect, however, the same holds good as in the case of the family and of wedlock. With regard to the one as to the other, the direction of the evolution remains the same, with this difference, however, that Socialism removes all the shocking and painful manifestations that under the present system are the accompaniments of the social evolution; under Socialism only the good features of progress will be seen.

To-day, the transformation of the small farmer and small producer from workers in the field of small, into workers in the field of large, production means their transformation from propertyholders into proletarians. In socialist society, however, the small producer whose industry is absorbed by large production can only profit by the change; he becomes a sharer in the advantages of improved methods; his condition is decidedly better; the change he then undergoes can nowise be compared with that which he undergoes to-day; instead of being turned from a propertyholder into a proletarian, he is turned from a small into a large proprietor.

Small production is hopelessly doomed to disappear; only the socialist system can make it possible for those who are still struggling in the mehes of small production to become participants in the advantages of large production without sinking into the class of the proletariat. The inevitable downfall of the small producer, industrial and agricultural, can be an improvement to them, instead of a source of increased troubles, only under the socialist system. Under Socialism competition, that now grinds down and expropriates those who fall behind, will no longer be the mainspring of the economic development; it will be the power of attraction which the more highly developed forms of production will exercise upon the less developed ones.

A development of this sort is not only painless, but it proceeds much more rapidly than under the spur of competition. To-day, when the introduction of new and higher forms of production is impossible without ruining and expropriating the owners of industries carried on under inferior forms, and without inflicting suffering and privation upon large masses of workers, who have become thereby superfluous, every economic progress encounters a dogged resistance. We see on all sides instances of the tenacity with which producers cling to-day to antiquated forms of production, and of their desperate efforts to preserve them. Never yet was any system of production known so revolutionary as the present one; never until now did any revolutionize so completely, within the space

(Continued on page 4.)

THE FAMILY.

Capitalism Tears It Up By the Roots and Blights It.

The Same Freedom is Impossible Where One Man Depends Upon the Whim of Another for a Living, so is the "Family" a Mockery Where its Individual Members Are Such Dependents.

One of the most wide-spread prejudices entertained against Socialism is that it proposes to abolish the family.

No Socitlist entertains the remotest idea of "abolishing" the family, whether by law or otherwise. Only the grossest misrepresentation can fasten upon them such a purpose; moreover it takes a fool to imagine that any form of family can either be created or abolished by decree.

The modern form of the family is nowise repulsive to the Socialist system of production; the institution of the Socialist order does not, consequently, need the abolition of the family for its introduction.

That which dissolves any existing form of family is the economic development itself. Under the present or Capitalist system of production the family is torn asunder; husband, wife and children are forced from one another in the search for bread; our irrational system of production raises SHE-TOWNS in one section of the country, as in New England, and HE-VILLAGES in other sections, as in Pennsylvania and the mining regions of the Far West; it nurses prostitution and adultery; and it dismantles the very citadel of the modern conception of the family, from the highest to the lowest rungs of society.

The Socialist system is not calculated to check the economic development; it will, on the contrary, give it new impulse. This development will continue as before, to withdraw from the circle of household duties and turn into special industries one household occupation after another; that this cannot fail to have in the future, as it had in the past, its effect upon the sphere of woman is self-evident; woman may cease to be a worker in the individual household and may take her place as a worker in the large productive industries. But this transition will not then be to her what it is to-day: a transition from household drudgery into wage-slavery, with the wage-slavery super-added to the household drudgery; it would not, as it does to-day, hurl her from the protection of her home into the exposed and helpless condition of the proletariat. By working in common with man in the large productive industries of society, she becomes his equal, and will be able to receive her equal share with him of the social product; she will then be his free companion, emancipated not only from slavery to man, but also from slavery to capital. Free mistress of herself, the equal of man, she will put a speedy end to all manner of prostitution, legalized as well as unlegalized, and then for the first time in the world's history will she be able to establish, as an actual, not a fictitious fact, the oneness of husband and wife.

These are no Utopian vegaries, but scientific conclusions from established facts. Whoever would deny the former, must first overthrow the latter. Seeing that the "ladies" and "gentlemen" who shut their eyes to this development have never been able to shake the scientific facts upon which these conclusions are planted, there is nothing left to them but to affect to be shocked, and to endeavor to place their "morality" in as favorable a light as possible by means of falsehoods and misrepresentations. But these methods will not stead them. They will not be able to delay the social revolution by one minute.

This much stands fast: whatever alteration the family form, handed down to us, may undergo, it will not be the act of Socialism or of the Socialist system of production, but of the economic development that has been going on under our own eyes for the last century. Socialist society cannot hold this development back; what it will do is to remove from the economic development all the painful and degrading features that are its inevitable accompaniments under the Capitalist system of production. While, on the one hand, under the Capitalist system of production the economic development is steadily snapping, one after another, the family bonds, and destroying connubial life, to the degradation of all concerned, under the Socialist system of production, on the other, whatever existing family form may drop off it can only be replaced by a higher.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	55,673

The bourgeoisie has every reason to fear the stupidity of the masses — so long as they remain conservative; and their intelligence — so soon as they become revolutionary.

MARX.

THE VOTE.

As yet so comparatively few are the returns from all over the country that the party's growth can not yet be estimated. But from the returns now in it is unquestionable that the forward step taken last Tuesday was a long one.

Here in New York State, 25,000 votes are more than probable; certain is a decided growth. But that's not all. This year for the first time, the S. L. P. holds in this State on the political field the balance of power. In view of that the following passage from the New York "Journal" of the 9th instant, a capitalist paper, that, ostrich like, sought during the whole campaign to deny the party's existence, deserves to be preserved:

SOCIALISTS IN FORCE—ENOUGH BALLOTS CAST FOR THE LABOR MEN TO HAVE ELECTED VAN WYCK.

Not the least striking feature of the election is the strength of the Socialist Labor vote.

Hanford, the Socialist candidate for Governor, received 13,063 votes in Greater New York, not counting the Bourough of Queens and Richmond. his average kept up in the other cities of the State would give the Socialists the balance of power in an election so close as this one.

If the total Socialist vote of the State had been swung to the Democrats Van Wyck would have been elected, and the rest of the Democratic candidates would have had majorities nearly, if not quite, equal to those which the Republicans now have,

From fifth, the S. L. P. moves up steadily to the third place; and this year its forces are felt by the foe.

THE FIGHT IN THE 16th A. D.

The election returns for the Assembly in the 16th Assembly District of this city tell a tale to make every Socialist feel joyous. They tell the tale that both the capitalist parties in the District are smashed, that that stronghold of Tammany Hall has been broken through, that the District has been captured for Socialism. Nor does the tale lose any of its force from the superficial fact that the Tammany candidate was "elected" and the Socialist "defeated." On the contrary; the fact, when closely scrutinized, only brings out the moral of the tale with all the greater force.

Such was the thoroughness and increasing enthusiasm with which the work of the campaign was conducted in the District that its old Democratic and Republican party leaders were nonplussed. They were accustomed only to the humdrum political forces of recurring old party campaigns in the settled regime of capitalist society. The under-tow of approaching revolutionary storms, the dashing currents and violent throbbings that herald the approach of a new epoch in the affairs of man;—all that is unknown and unknowable to the old party hack; he can no more navigate such waters than the captain of an oyster-smack could navigate the ocean. The old party leaders in the District felt rudderless; all their experiences, all their maxims and theories of practical politics were at naught. They were accustomed to periodical political "kickings," and they cared little for them; these were transitory summer storms that either were fakish, or quickly spent their force; they inspired no fear, they were troublesome, but that was all.

But here was a movement that no resistance could deter, and that every "defeat" served but as a stepping stone for increased power. Two years ago the Socialist vote in the District rose to 1,000; that created a little ripple of surprise, but no more. The next year the Socialist candidate for the Assembly polled 1,858 votes; that campaign was infinitely more vigorous than the previous: it smashed the Republican machine and reduced the Democratic candidate's vote. The old party leaders began to look surprised; something uncommon they sniffed in the air; but still they hoped that Socialist "defeat" would discourage the Socialists. Early in this campaign the old party leaders found out their mistake. The "defeated" Socialists reappeared in the field with such increased power of argument and disciplined forces that, from the very start, the Republican machine made common cause with Democratic. As the campaign proceeded, there was visible more and more agitation and perturbation in the camp of the old parties. They felt the force of the current, and were literally at sea upon how to meet the emergency. Then followed tactics that deserve special notice as they throw valuable light on the situation.

The first thing the old parties did was to try and set up a bogus Socialist candidate in the District; the scheme failed so egregiously from the start that it was quickly abandoned. The next thing was to buy two job lots of disreputable labor fakirs, mount them upon the Democratic and the Republican trucks, and let them loose on the District.

This second scheme chimed in marvelously with the feelings of crookdom throughout the land. For the last year, the Socialist vote for the Assembly in the District was a bone that stuck across the throats of every labor crook. These gentleman sought to effect from without a change in the policy and tactics of the party; its aggressiveness and uncompromising rectitude incommoded them. The party's vote in the city had not made much progress that year; they affected indignation thereat. They did not know or did not want to know that the reason for such slow progress was the difficulties the party in this city has to contend with as the result of its having at a time, now happily gone by, pursued the very policy that they now seek to browbeat it into. But every time they sought to make a point of the city's "stagment" vote, the increase of the vote for the Assembly in the 16th A. D. made them choke, all the more seeing it was polled by that very party member upon whom they had all concentrated all their rage. Crookdom in general, labor fakirdom in particular, set its heart upon lowering the vote for the Assembly in the District, and bets were made that the 1,858 votes of last year would go down. Thus the scheme of the old parties' leaders in the District to enlist the aid of the labor fakir brigade was grist to the mill of the brigade. From the Republican and the Democratic platform in chorus did the labor fakir pour down denunciations and slander upon the Socialist Labor party and its candidate in the District.

But it all availed naught: the Socialist stream grew in force and vigor. At the last moment Tammany Hall put its hands deep into its pocket; $10,000 were appropriated as a desperate means to "save" the District, and lower the Socialist vote. It is a conservative estimate that 700 voters were bought outright: their poverty made them succomb. And what was the result?

The Tammany candidate's votes FELL; the Republican candidate's vote was virtually wiped out; and the Socialist candidate's vote, so far from falling, rose to nearly 2,300 votes!

Considering that 200 Socialist ballots were thrown out as defective and that 700 voters were bought, the conclusion cannot be escaped that the District is to-day Socialist. It has been conquered from the old capitalist parties; they know they can not now hold it.

PAYING FOR HIS HONEY-MOON.

Edwin Gould married quite recently. The papers have had numerous accounts about his wedding tour, and the luxurious way in which he was spending his honey-moon. Who paid for all that? The answer is given by a newspaper item of only ten days ago. It reads this way:

Passaic, N. J., Nov. 3.—The girls employed in the packing department of the Continental Match Factory, owned by Edwin Gould, went on strike to-day, and caused the factory to shut down. The girls struck because of a reduction in their wages. The factory is working day and night, and the first inkling that the girls were not satisfied came last night, when the night packers refused to work. They had been receiving six one-half cents per gross of boxes for packing the matches, and the day girls received the same pay.

The foreman told all that beginning the first of the present month the rate would be only five cents per gross. This caused the night packers to quit, and when the day girls went to the factory this morning and learned that the night workers had struck, they served notice that they would not submit to the cut in prices and declined to go to work.

Under the old price they made about 60 cents a day. They packed 43,200 matches by hand for six one-half cents, or about 400,000 matches a day.

This item looks innocent; it surely was not otherwise meant. And yet few items of equal shortness are so pregnant with indictment of the capitalist system and of the capitalist class.

Here we have a luxurious idler living in part upon the sweat of the brow of a lot of girls; living in part upon their very life-tissues by reason of the long hours they were worked, and the small pay they were worked for at one of the occupations that ranks highest among those that are injurious to health and life; fleecing them to such an extent that the very thought of a home of their own, let alone the preliminary step of a honey-moon, must seem a day dream;—here we have such a sponge upon the working class (women ,girls among them), starting on a wedding trip, a honey-moon, and seeking to help defray the expenses thereof by lowering their earnings still more!

But the dawn of redemption is now seen, the dawn of the day when the mischievous class of the Goulds will be wiped off. The election returns of the Socialist Labor party clearly point to this fact.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CHINA.

The impending dismemberment of China and the share our own country will henceforth take in the affairs of the Far East render valuable the below article:

Recent events in Eastern Asia have again directed attention to the inner political weakness of the Chinese Empire, which has caused that country to become an easy prey to the European annexation passion. Already, in 1860—when the small English-French forces were able to victoriously enter into Pekin without meeting any serious resistance, and Russia had, almost without any trouble, joined to her Asiatic possessions large Chinese domains—the question was asked what was the cause of the present weakness of the Chinese Empire; an empire which had defied change for thousands of years, and with a population which still appears as a race of extraordinary tenacity. How could this giant give way so pusillanimously to the pretensions of England, Russia, and France? How could it, above all, let itself be subdued by the ten times smaller Japan?

The ordinary answer to this is that the causes lay in the people's character, in their submissiveness, cowardice; in their want of national feeling, attachment to old habits, etc. No doubt there is some truth in these assertions, but this cheap explanation does not give the root cause. The character of the Chinese of the present, like the character of Europeans, is the product of their historical development. To obtain an accurate insight into the present Chinese people's character leads us to a consideration of the early social development of China.

China was in ancient times, like many other ancient civilized Empires, divided into tribes or clans, and family unions (Verbande). The larger clans, which originally settled themselves mostly in the low river ground, split into a number of communities, named Sin (Sing), which in their turn split into many hundreds (Phao, Li), and these latter again into house communities (Schi, Schia). After this earliest division into gentes or communities, which, like the North American "totem" unions, bore the names of animals and vegetables, the whole people were generally named "Pi-sin"—i. e., "hundred gentes." The ideographical character of the word "sin" is composed of the sign for "woman" and of "to be born." The origin of the word leads us, therefore, back to a time of the matriarchate; but, nevertheless, we find already in the most ancient records that the gens, as well as the narrower family union, the "Schi," organized patriarchally. The old gentile division of China was consequently thoroughly congenial with that of the Tartarian, Peruvian, and German gentes in tens, hundreds, and thousands. The gens-unions (Sin) were probably also, like those of the latter, in the beginning identical with the hundreds. But when, in the course of a natural increase, the membership of the Sin gentes became larger and larger, then every gens gave rise to many hunderds.

The division into unions of gentes goes back to a very early period of the historical development of the Empire. The dispensing of the members by means of new settlements and colonizations, the growing differences in wealth, the usurpation of the administrative functions of the gentes by the gentile princes, deprived the unions of the gentes of their coherence, and appeased and degraded them to simple communities in name. But certain inheritance and marriage conditions have been preserved until to-day. Thus, for instance, marriage is prohibited between persons who bear the same clan (Sin) name, and nobody can choose a man as his inheritor who does not bear his own gentile (clan) name. On the other hand, the "Schi" has preserved itself until now as a house-community, which is analagous to the development of some slave peoples, among whom the larger unions of gentes also early disappeared, while the house-communities have been preserved in some countries up to the present time. In its oldest form the Chinese "Schi" is quite like the house-communities of the Mikronian and Malaian, but the head of the Chinese family had a wider patriarchal power over the younger members of his house. His position can be compared with that of the ancient Roman paterfamilies. Like the latter, he freely disposed of the house fortune, married the members according to his will, and enacted heavy penalties, chastizing even the grown-up members of the family. Ordinarily the Chinese house-community embraced the whole male progeny of a great-grandfather, or even of a still older grandfather, together with the women of this progeny. The leadership was in the hands of the eldest male member. He administrated the property of the family, gathered the income, and distributed to everyone the necessaries of life. He cared also for the orderly behavior of the members, and officially represented them at all business decisions, in the administration of the community, and of justice. The "Schi" was consequently not only a family community, but also at the same time a thoroughly close productive and juridical community.

Almost the whole productive activity consisted of agriculture. The mark in writing for the man, contrary to that for the woman, is composed of the sign for "power" and "field." A man is one who employs his power in tillage. We find very early mentioning of handicraft and commerce, but they were not independent professions. Every family carried on agriculture as its proper trade. Of course, with economical development there gradually entered into the family a division of labor. Accordingly, one of the sons of the house eventually occupied himself more with agriculture and the obtaining of raw materials; the other with home industrial production. Even in China at the present hour agriculture is still considered a more distinguished trade than handicraft or commerce.

There never has been in ancient China—as proved by ancient records—any private property in the land. All land was State land. Every family had right to a certain portion. How large these allotments were, it is difficult to say, as there are divergencies in the records. We find the first more accurate communications in the "Schuking" and "Li-ki" of Konfutse, as well as in the writings of his most prominent scholar, Mentse; they originate, consequently, in a time when the old agrarian conditions had entered already into a state of complete decomposition, and had everywhere given way to the always advancing private property in land. Both State philosophers, in writing their informations, based themselves mostly on the ancient juridical and popular traditions which, in common with historical sources, contained many contradictions. So far as we can gather, the allotments were not equally large in all provinces, but differed according to the quality of the land and the turn of following. Moreover, as Mentse informs us, with the growth of agriculture and the standard of life increased also the size of the allotments which were allowed to every family community. In return for the use of the land every family had to give up to the Government the "tenth," a tax which was not levied upon the private revenues of the family, but consisted in works on the State land. Similarly, as in ancient Peru, there was allotted to every little community certain qualities of governmental lands which had to be worked by the family communities, and the revenues of which had to be delivered up as taxes to the Government. Besides this, the communities had to furnish a certain amount of soccage-work.

At the head of the separate gentes there stand gentile princes who were mostly elected by the gentes and hundreds, but who later contrived to make their dignity hereditary and independent of the sovereign, who himself had anciently been an elected prince. They ruled their domains after their own sweet will, made exactions without care for the laws of the Empire—imposed their own laws and taxes, waged war between themselves, let and sold fields; in short, we find China at that time presenting all the phenomena of an over-powerful feudal nobility. From the time of Konfutse (600 B. C.) till China's subjection by the Mongols (1200 A. D.), the history of China represents the picture of wars between the great gentile princes and the kings; the latter being often but puppets in the hands of their great feudal princes and commanders-in-chief. Sometimes it was one prince who subjected his neighbors and made himself king, sometimes it was another, aided by revolting feudal lords and army commanders, who usurped the sovereign's power. But under the Ming dynasty, and still now governing Thai-Tsiung dynasty, the Empire secured rest and order.

These political struggles, far-reaching as they were, had but little influence on the family organization, because the economical basis on which it rested has but little changed during that long period of time. Still, the old order of land property more and more melted away; private property became extended, and the peasants were degraded to a state of servility, whilst the feudal lords seized the land property.

Through communication with the countries of Westaria there were also introduced many valuable and useful vegetables (as, for instance, the common bean, garlic, parsley, cucumber, vine, pomegranate), but agriculture made but slow progress. In fact, the Chinaman cultivates his field now as his ancestors did two thousand years ago, only the intensity of his labor has increased. The form of production on the whole has remained unchanged. Mechanical industry is altogether wanting, and even in the most advanced localities there are still missing the elements which could lead to a manufacturing industry, such as we find in the southerly countries of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Industry is still in the handicraft and family home stage.

The breaking up of the ancient land property conditions has not led even to a splitting of the great family into juridically independent separate families. The living and working together remained a rule, because the working methods and the conditions of mutual working together remained just the same. The only difference with the past was that the great family, having formerly cultivated the State land, now began to cultivate their own. And even where, with the permission of their parents, sons separated themselves from the head branch, and started their own families, they still remained under the guardianship of the head of the great family. The basic principle, that no man has a free ownership of his fortune (even when earned by himself), while his father or grandfather is still living, is in China still in force. "The family," says Tschenkitong, of the present life of the Chinese, "is in some measure like a religious community with fixed rules. Everyone contributes to its revenues without recognizing that one brings in more or less. In the family there reigns the law of equality and fraternity; words, full of meaning, which are written in the hearts, but not on the walls."

In many ways the political struggles are still of some advantage to the conservation of the family communities—namely, to pay the war expenses. The gentile princes becoming more powerful, imposed on the peasants, beside the tenth, taxes of all kinds; moreover, the peasants had also to furnish men for the war and soccage service. The staying and living together of the family members not only proved useful for the collection of taxes and for the re-culture of the desolated land, but also assured war service, and the maintenance during the man's absence of his wife and children. It has also perhaps still more maintained the existence of the family and ancestor worship. Although being itself originally but a product of the veneration of the founders of the families and gentes, which in its turn arose from the family communal organization, it has nevertheless essentially contributed to the cementing of the family by calling them again and gain together to the communal offerings to the ancestors.

Of course, the economical development has not been without influence on the Chinese family institutions, especially since China has been obliged to enter into trade relations with the European barbarians; but the changes which took place concern rather the poorer than the middle classes. As already stated, the great family had its end in the holding together of the family fortune and of mutual help, but the thoroughly poor possess nothing which could be held together. The great family lost its power for good, and the struggle for existence drove everyone to think first of all about himself. Hence the cause of the immense emigration which for some decades has taken place from the poorer districts into North America, Lower India, Australia, the Oceanic Archipelago, etc. It is true that a large proportion of the sons of the Celestial Empire return to China, but not always to settle again in the old native corners. Even were this the case, the long absence would still tend to greatly disorganize the family relations.

From these disintegrating processes of Chinese society are explainable the most prominent features of the Chinese character, in its good as well as its bad side. The Chinaman's servility under the Government is but an outcome of his subjection to the family head; his passion for gain, his stingy covetousness, are but the heritage of his race, arising out of the family saving system, and of that family virtue which is rooted in him. From his very childhood the necessity has been ingrained in him of increasing by every means his house property, and thereby increasing a good memory among his descendants. This love of the family is responsible for the narrowness of the views of the middle class Chinaman, and of his seclusion, his carelessness of the intellectual and material interests of his nation when these latter do not touch his own family interests. He lacks the consciousness of the intellectual union with members outside his family, not because of some special intellectual peculiarity, as is ordinarily believed, but because such a consciousness must be the result of a certain social development. The Chinese have not yet reached the height of a keen national consciousness.

In this apathy lies much of the weakness of the Chinese Empire. One province is quite indifferent to what is going on in another. The Chinese soldier does not fight for his people, he fights simply because he is ordered and cannot yet revolt. Nevertheless, the Chinese fighting powers are considerable could they be organized. They need above all things the fostering of a national spirit; ways and means of communication; more facilities for commerce; the creating of better roads and water ways; technical arrangements for providing an army with food and proper equipment, an energetic leader at the head of the Empire, combined with an able bureaucracy to support his executive power.

Another case of China's weakness lies in her administrative practices and her corrupted bureaucracy. The Chinese Central Government is directed on the principle of giving administrative officers a free hand coupled with a secret espionage which hinders all intimate relations between themselves and the people. This peculiar spying system often leads to a change of officers. The latter are not appointed in their native districts, and are not allowed to marry, without special permission, with a person living inside the administrative districts. These principles do not arise—as is often thought—from the "peculiar character of the Chinese intellect," but are results of the conquering tactics of former dynasties. It would be well to give officers a free hand in the case of necessity and relieve them of the fear of spies, who are but an irritating cause of mischief between the officers and the Government at Peking.

Besides this evil of espionage the system has another: the corruption of the bureaucracy. The complete dependence of every officer on his nearest principal, who has to report yearly on his conduct even to trifling details of unbecomingness, and the absolute non-responsibility of the censors and their agents, have led to officers cringing before the superior and to corruptibility. Moreover, the Chinese Government pays such low salaries that the incomes of the officers do not enable them to cover their financial responsibilities as representatives of the State. They are therefore obliged to create for themselves side-revenues the best way they can.

It may be thought that the officers would tire of these conditions. With the exception of a small minority, it appears they do not. True, now and again there is one or another dismissed, and very exemplary punishment administered, but the most of the frauds remain undiscovered, and they thus secure nice little sums. Why, therefore, should they advocate reforms the defending of which would lead to accusations of every kind? Why should they impose on themselves a new task when, perhaps, they will be soon displaced and appointed elsewhere?

Has China a future? The question is not easily to be answered. That the Chinese race possesses extraordinary tenacity and vitality is shown everywhere. She has entered into competition with other races, and has proven that she has the capacity of assimilating European civilization. The last decades have brought to China a more rapid development than centuries before, and the rock of conservatism once shaken progress will go on notwithstanding all obstacles. Finally, China is getting her railways. The question is, will China adopt herself to the new conditions before her most important domains are divided by the European Powers, by Japan, and by Uncle Sam?—From the Berlin, Germany, "Vorwärts" (Socialist).

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UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Uncle Sam—Did you hear the news of the big Socialist vote?

Brother Jonathan—Yes; but I don't feel like shouting over it. It can never come to anything.

U. S.—You don't say so! Then according to you it will never sweep the country?

B. J.—I won't say that exactly. It might, and I presume it will, sweep the country.

U. S.—Then what do you mean?

B. J.—I mean that it can never accomplish anything.

U. S.—"Can't accomplish anything," even if the party holds a majority of the Government?

B. J.—Yes; even if it gain a majority of the Government. The moment it does hold a majority it will break down—

U. S.—Hey!?

B. J.—For the very reason that it will then find out that its plan is absurd.

U. S.—You puzzle me.

B. J.—Let me explain to you. I have given deep thought—

U. S. (with a smile)—"Deep thought" did you say?

B. J.—Yes; deep thought to the question of Socialism. I find it to be a very beautiful but an impracticable theory?

U. S.—Your yarn is becoming thrilling enough for yellow covers. Let me hear more of it.

B. J.—That's allright. But I have discovered a big flaw in Socialism.

U. S.—You keep me in suspense. And what is more remarkable yet, I don't understand how, having found such a flaw in Socialism, you can still be looking so seedy and poor. The man who makes such a discovery is a made man. The capitalists and their politicians would take care of him in right royal fashion. He would be looked upon by them like a real Messiah. He would have rolled off their hearts the biggest rock that yet oppressed it. Such a man could not, like you do, carry the mark of poverty.

B. J.—That may all be so and yet I have discovered the flaw.

U. S.—Out with it.

B. J.—Socialists propose to buy out the capitalists. Now, in the first place, that is contradiction: if the capital, now in the hands of the capitalist class, is stolen property, as Socialists claim, why buy it back to its owners? In the second place, there is not money enough to buy out the plants out right; bonds will have to be given; and thus the capitalist class would be enabled to continue to live in idleness on the backs of the workers for quite a long time. Here, is not that a flaw?

U. S.—It would be one, indeed, if Socialists actually proposed any such thing, but they don't, not only for the reasons you give which would be quite enough to reject the idea of "buying out" the capitalists, but for two other reasons: one of honor and the other of equity.

As to the point of honor, it is this: Would it not be dishonest to "buy" a thing, that is to "pay" someone with what would have no value whatever?

B. J.—Surely.

U. S.—Well, Socialist society may, for a while, a transition period, use and need money; but that period would be short: money, as now understood, would not be needed in a co-operative community. Thus, to give money to the capitalists for their plants would be a mockery, and, therefore, dishonest: they could not buy anything with it.

B. J.—That's so.

U. S.—As to the second point, the point of equity, a movement of the people may be so circumstanced that the death of their oppressors is a necessary thing. But such an issue can arise as an imperative necessity only when an oppressed class, that itself is an oprressor of a lower class, rises against its own oppressors, not to establish freedom for all, but to secure freedom for itself alone. Now the Socialist movement is essentially different in that its very programme, and the law of its existence, compels it to give freedom to all. By establishing the public ownership of the land on and the machinery with which to work, Socialism opens the doors wide for everybody to live in industrial comfort. Thus the members of the capitalist class would have an equal chance with every body else. It might shock some tender consciences to kill a robber, but at times such severe act may be necessary. In this instance, however, the robber need not be killed by the victorious class except by himself. If a capitalist does not want to work, of course, he will have to die; but if he is willing to work he will receive vouchers for the labor he has performed, with that he will be able to exchange for the products of others and enjoy a life of comfort. For this reason, to pay him for his present plant would be a wrong, besides being an absurdity, as you showed.

B. J.—Then Socialism don't propose buying out the capitalists?

U. S.—No, Siree.

B. J.—Then my flaw wasn't any flaw?

U. S.—There are no flaws in Socialism.

The English translation of Karl Marx' Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price 25 cents.

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

Address delivered by H. S. Aley, M. D. in Lincoln, Neb.

"If the theory of evolution be not universal
The germs of decay are in it."—Clodd.

All intelligent people recognize and most of them will admit, that the world economically and socially does not stand still, but that on the contrary there has been many and various changes in man's economic and social state, even during the historic period, to say nothing about the other ethnic stages of barbarism and savagery that precede civilization.

The scientific world is practically unanimous that these ethnic changes are due to the operation of natural law, the same as are the changes being wrought in the physical world. In other words science is contending that the changes in the economic and social world are the same as in the biological—are dominated by the law of evolution as promulgated by Chas. Darwin over 50 years ago.

However, one does not have to be a scientist to see that the present system did not always exist but that, on the contrary, it grew out of a less perfect pre-existing system, and that the one it supplanted was in turn preceded by a system less perfect than itself. Taking these now almost universally recognized facts as a starting point, we Socialists contend that since the present system evolved out of one less perfect than itself, no one can logically maintain that it will be perpetuated. Socialists, being evolutionists and believing in the law of progress, are necessarily optimists. They not only maintain that the present system will evolve into one more perfect than itself, but that it has already, nearly or quite completed its mission—which was the perfection of the means of production and exchange to the point where there could be no question of the people's ability to supply their wants as to luxuries and necessities.

Having completed its mission, it must, like the ripened fruit, be nearly ready to drop of its own weight, or like the chick nearing the end of the period of incubation, ready to burst its shell. We contend that each economic system—and its Social Reflex—in its infancy, contains in embryo the elements of its own destruction and that this embryo develops and expands as does the system develop and expand, in fact that each economic system acts as the incubator of the egg that contains the elements of the chick that will eventually usurp its place in the economic universe.

We say that in the infancy, childhood and youth of each economic system—the same as in the physical organism—the elements of construction predominate over the elements of destruction, but that eventually the reverse becomes true. We also assert that the capitalist system has already in the United States, England, France, Germany, and Austria passed through its infancy, childhood and youth, and now in its manhood is nearing old age and that in these countries the seeds of decay are in it. In other words, that the elements of destruction now predominate over the elements of construction, hence the system in these countries must be near its end.

On the contrary, we Socialists realize that in China, East India and most other Asiatic countries, the same system is in its infancy; in Japan, Russia, Italy, Spain, Turkey, Hawaii, West Indies, Mexico and the countries of South America, it is passing through the period of childhood and in some of these countries, especially Japan and Northern Italy, has nearly or quite reached manhood.

We also realize that the capitalist system of production and exchange in all these latter countries—as a result of outside influences from the more fully developed capitalist world—will develop with lightning rapidity as compared to the countries first mentioned, and that they too will have soon reached the period of old age and decay. In short, these countries during the next twenty years will pass through the same stages of capitalist development, it has taken England 250 years, France and the United States 100 years, and Germany 50 years to travel; hence to all intent and purpose, the world is now ready for the International Social Revolution.

The readers will naturally ask, what are the signs that indicate the downfall of the present system and the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and what are the elements, in the present system, once constructive that have now become destructive?

And we reply that under all preceding economic systems, the method of ownership harmonized with the method of production and exchange, as it did under the present system, until the advent of modern machinery. From the downfall of the feudal system—out of which evolved the capitalist wage system—until the introduction of labor-saving machinery, the laborer owned and controlled the tools with which he worked, also the raw material on which his efforts were expended, and this in turn enabled him to own and control the product of his hands and brain, hence he was always in a position to demand for his product the full equivalent in some other commodity that embodied as much social labor time as did his own.

Under these conditions panics, due to over-production, were unknown, as the laborers—the producers of all wealth—always had in their possession the means to purchase back the wealth created by their hands and brain.

Under the present capitalist wage system, the wage earner, on the average, receives in wages only one-fourth of what the wealth he creates sells for on the retail markets of the world, and as a result he can purchase back but one-fourth; therefore, industrial panics are inevitable and occur with almost the regularity of clock work.

Under handicraft production, the system of ownership being individualistic, harmonized with the system of production and exchange, also individualistic, hence the laborer received his own.

On the contrary, since the advent of modern machinery, the motive power of which is outside the animated piece of clay who tends it and with its concomitant concentrated capital, the system of ownership no longer harmonizes with the method of production and exchange. Under the capitalist wage system, while we still have individual ownership, the method of production and exchange has in all dominant industries become purely co-operative and through the operation of modern machinery, with this co-operative labor, production during the past fifty years has been multiplied at least twenty-fold, and as a result, one-half of the laborers of the capitalistic world can produce more than sufficient to supply the markets of the world, and the other one-half, the major part of the time, are compelled either to beg or starve.

The time is fast approaching when, as predicted by Marx, the capitalist class will have to dole out in the form of charity the most of their profits in order to prevent the idle proletariat—whom the capitalist machine system has made superfluous—from dying and stinking in their door yards. This is the principal reason why the system, supported and upheld by the capitalist class, is unable to meet the demands of the age, is bearing obsolete and near its end; hence to bring harmony out of chaos, to prevent the exploitation of the working class, and thereby settle forever the question of the unemployed, we Socialists contend that the system of ownership must be made collective in order to harmonize with the already changed system of production and exchange. In short that the Socialist Commonwealth must—would the world progress—take the place of the present planless economic system.

In the early days of the capitalist system every individual was free to compete with every other individual, in any laudable enterprise, and this acted as a powerful factor in developing production and facilitating exchange and distribution. In fact under small individual production, competition was constructive, but it now acts as an impediment too and in many instances IS destructive of production and exchange and none realize this more fully than the R. R. Kings, Bonanza Farmers, Standard Oil Magnate, the Merchant Prince and, in fact, the big Capitalists in general, who through the establishment of trusts, pools and department stores are trying to do away with competition by effective combination.

Already has this combination reached such a point that the small business man and farmer are ruled out of the commercial world, and are dropping like pins in a ten pin alley before the onslaught of these huge aggregations of capital and they as well as the proletaire are now beginning to see that under this beautiful competitive system competition no longer competes. We Socialists see that the combination that can perform a given task with the expenditure of the least amount of energy is bound to survive in the commercial world against all competitors and in consequence small production cannot hope to compete with large production. In view of this fact it is only a question of time when the whole middle class—who are, on account of their inferior capital, compelled to work with a cripple tool as compared to plutocracy—will become bankrupt, whence they will be forced into the ranks of the proletariat, where they will be compelled to scramble for the right of an opportunity to become the paid attaches of some huge machine, the laborer under the present system no longer controlling the movements of the machine, but it controls his movements. The bankruptcy of the middle class will tend to aggravate the inconsistancies inherent in the present system, and from now on "THE CRISES BLETHORIQUE," described by Fourier will be more frequent than have they in the past. At such times, as he says, "abundance becomes the source of destitution" as the capitalist can no longer sell his products at a profit, this of itself stops production, which in turn throws the proletariat out on the streets to starve; as they when employed are compelled—through the competition of those out of work—to sell their labor power for its value, viz.: a mere subsistence wage. Proof—as a class they are always within 30 days of starvation. A condition is already reached in the more fully developed capitalist countries, where the few who own the natural and social opportunities cannot—without surrendering their profits—furnish employment to those depending on them for the right of an opportunity to work, more than one-half the time, or to one-half of the toolless all the time, as with the machinery at hand, enough goods can be produced in one year to meet the legitimate demand for two or three years.

Under these deplorable conditions, should one-half the laborers be employed all the time, the other one-half can, and in fact is, used as a club in the hands of the capitalist class, to enforce Ricardos Iron Law of Wages, that simply gives to the laborer just sufficient to maintain his existence and reproduce his species. This condition is becoming aggravated every day and all thinking people see that some radical change must soon take place, would we avoid commercial feudalism.

At the present rate of wealth concentration—as given by Geo. K. Holmes in the last U. S. Census Reports—the middle class will be practically bankrupt before the year 1910, and when that takes place, we will have on the one hand not more than 10 per cent. of the population owning and controlling 90 or more per cent. of all the natural and social oportunities and then—will the period of incubation of the Socialist egg—lead by the capitalist system—be nearer its completion, as not long will 90 per cent. of the people of this country beg the right of an opportunity to produce a MERE subsistence, when the opportunities—that have been created by their energies—are ready at hand to insure to all who are willing to work NOT MORE THAN

(Continued on page 4.)

INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

McBride—Penna—Ratchford.

[New York "Vorwaerts," German Organ of the S. L. P.]

Now that the Industrial Commission has at last been appointed, the question suggests itself, Why was Ratchford, President of the United Mine Workers' Association, selected?

Did McKinley appoint him, because so many miners requested his appointment through resolutions? This supposition must be dismissed. McKinley knows full well that he can answer the demands of the miners with bullets, with "McKinley pills," without thereby endangering his popularity. Moreover, he is well aware, that many of these miners, who now indorse Ratchford, are foreigners; Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and other non-English speaking elements, whom Ratchford and his paper have stigmatized as a "worthless mob." Surely, not much value can be attached to an indorsement from workingmen who at the same time reveal how easily they can be bamboozled.

On the contrary, the recommendation of the miners should have rather injured Ratchford's candidacy had the confidence, which they expressed in him, been justifiable. Ratchford's present popularity is due to his leadership of the great miners' strike of last year, the most important labor struggle since 1894, when McKinley's bullets and Cleveland's strike-breaking army made history. Had Ratchford's rôle, during last year's strike, been that of an honest champion of the cause of labor, and against exploitation, he would not have been rewarded by McKinley.

Reward always presupposes service. Now, it is becoming more and more apparent, that Ratchford organized last year's strike, not for the purpose of waging war against exploitation as such, but to render a service to the leading fleecers of the coal-mining industry. It was a struggle in the interests of the great coal-barons of Ohio and Pittsburgh (with Mark Hanna, Frank Osborne, who is a cousin of McKinley, and Colonel Rend at the head), against the competition of West Virginia and that of De Armit. When the coal-barons believed the struggle had gone far enough, they called a halt. And Ratchford rendered them a political service by declaring the "agreement" a "great concession,—"a victory by the workers," due to the "friendly disposition" towards labor on the part of the Mark Hannas, Frank Osbornes and their whole robber class.

Since then, however, the coalminers have learned what that victory meant. In the mines of the Pittsburgh district and of Illinois the "agreement" is being violated. In Ohio the miners work under the contract system, where it is profitable to the bosses, to wit: in the machine-operated mines. The other mine workers of Ohio have experienced from that "victory" no result other than an ever increasing idleness, and a more disastrous end. As the "Bituminous Record" reports: "The misery among the workers of the Hocking Valley is so great, that they appealed to Governor Bushnell for help, in order to mitigate their distress, caused through lack of employment." These are the results of the Ratchford "victory" that explain why it has been described in labor circles as "The crime of 1897," as recently done in an article in the "Ohio Valley Workman."

Ratchford's career is only a repetition of the treasonable aspirations of his predecessors in the management of the United Mine Workers' Association.

This association was formed in 1886, and in the same year John McBride, the first President, was nominated on the Democratic State ticket as a lure for the workingman's vote. Three years later McBride was appointed by the Democratic Governor Campbell Commissioner of Labor. In 1894, he expected of Cleveland an appointment as United States Deputy; and this application was still pending, when Cleveland used his Deputies to shoot down the Pullman strikers. Soon afterwards McBride became President of the "American Federation of Labor"; and, at the end of his term, he turned up as a capitalist newspaper proprietor.

McBride was succeeded by Penna as President of the U. M. W. A. He remained in that capacity from the beginning of 1895 until 1897. During these two years he pulled the wires in such a manner as to become a capitalist himself. This "labor leader" became a MINE OWNER IN INDIANA.

Ratchford, Penna's successor, has earned his reward in only one year and a half.

Meanwhile, the U. M. W. A. not only did not secure better conditions of life for its members, but was even unable to check the constantly growing misery of the miners.

The organization was, is and presumably will continue to be a tool in the hands of the capitalists. The servility to capital on the part of the leading officers has infected all those connected with the organization and its administration. Such an organization is a danger to the miners. It must be crushed and replaced by an honest, class-conscious organization. The building up of such an organization has begun. In numerous coal-mine districts, branches of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance have already been formed. It is the duty of all class-conscious workingmen to support these organizations with all the means in their power.

Labor Songs.

The attention of the readers of THE PEOPLE is called to the following labor songs:

1.—"The Workingmen's Marseillelse," arranged by H. Mohr.
2.—"Down with Slavery," words selected from Shelley; music by Platon Brounoff.
3.—"The Hand with the Hammer," by Peter E. Burrowes; music by Platon Brounoff.
4.—"On the first of May," by Elizabeth Serber; music by Platon Brounoff.

Price, 10 cents per copy. Send your orders to:

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York City.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Two Meetings, in Mass., but what a difference.

To THE PEOPLE.—For a long time we have been trying to organize a Section of the S. L. P. in Chicopee, the home of the late Edward Bellamy, author of "Looking Backward." But the modern slaves of capitalism would not listen to the new gospel for their emancipation. The iron heel of God Capital compelled them, however, even these haughty slaves to do a little thinking, even against their will.

The Socialists, undaunted by previous failures, at last took the bull by the horns and stepped right out into the middle of the business streets of Chicopee, and from a soap-box platform preached Socialism night after night until some caught on to the meaning of our propaganda and at last a Section was organized. The new recruits worked with that vim so characteristic of the true American citizen.

So, when Comrade George R. Peare, our candidate for Governor, was announced to speak at Chicopee, an audience of over 400 people flocked into Gray's Hall, on the night of the meeting. It was a typical first Socialist meeting. The people had come, prompted by curiosity, to see a real live Socialist and hear what he had to say and how he would act. They huddled together like a flock of sheep into the corners of the hall for fear somebody might see and report them to their bosses. They listened to Comrade Peare attentively to the close of his address. Then, they no doubt remembered that they had come to have some fun rather than to get instructions, and this feeling broke lose as soon as Comrade Ruther was introduced as the next speaker. The meeting seemed to break up in disorder and laughter, but Socialists are not even then found wanting. Comrade Ruther had to make use of considerable lung-power to remain on top and finally succeeded in closing the meeting in a creditable manner. There were many earnest workingmen present who seemed to be eager for more Socialism, and no doubt the S. L. P. has now a firm hold in Chicopee.

The next evening, Comrade Peare spoke at Holyoke. French Hall was comfortably filled with an audience who had come to get information upon the great labor movement that is now headed on to success by the Socialist Labor party. Comrade Ruther presided, and a hearty cheer was given to Comrade Peare, who made a splendid address to a people who were already more or less familiar with the general objects and principles of the Socialist Labor party. Many questions were asked at the close of Comrade Peare's address, and before the chairman had a chance to close the meeting, three cheers for the S. L. P. were sent up so spontaneously and with such a vim as to shake the hall. This is the first time that a Holyoke audience ever gave a cheer for the S. L. P., and it came so unexpected as to surprise all the old comrades. Holyoke will remain true to its record of the past and contribute its share towards the 100,000 votes which we are sure to poll on November 8, 1898.

Holyoke, Nov. 5, 1898.

Rhode Island Slave-Drivers.

To THE PEOPLE.—In behalf of Local Union 114 of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States, I wish to bring the grievance of the above Union against the Narragansett Brewing Company before the public. Every time a committee waited on the Narragansett Brewing Company they said that they did not find any fault with their men joining the Union; nevertheless, through the foreman, cellar bosses and management combined, 16 unionmen have been discharged, and one man has been arrested for asking what he was discharged for. Through the efforts of the writer he secured a bondsman and got him out of jail. This man who went his bonds, had worked for the Narragansett Brewing Company for six years. They discharged him, and the reason they gave was that he worked "against the interests of the company" by going bail for a fellow workingman and getting him out of jail.

Now the company is doing worse: it is importing men from other States and throwing unionmen and citizens of the State of Rhode Island out of work, simply for the reason that they are unionmen.

The company also have policemen stationed throughout their brewery, and will not allow any two men to speak to each other during the day. They have turned their office into a police-station for the purpose of arresting unionmen whenever they find or know of one in their service.

JOHN McMORROW.

Providence, R. I., Nov. 6.

Mr. Kenney of Cleveland Answered.

To THE PEOPLE.—The article "Union Wreckers," which apeared in THE PEOPLE of July 24th, must have touched tender spots, or, at least, it penetrated the rhinoceros hide of some of the leaders of the Metal Polishers' International Union. Although J. J. Kinney, of Cleveland, was not mentioned in the article, he seems to have found it necessary to break a lance in defense of President Lynch. As to the motives that prompted Kinney's action, no explanation will be necessary when the following quotations, taken from the "Journal" of the trade, are considered. I have arranged them in such a shape that they produce the evidence necessary to prove what was said about Lynch in the article "Union Wreckers."

THE PEOPLE had refused to publish an article written by Kluney, which was afterwards published in the Cleveland "Citizen" in the issue of August 20, preceded by "An Open Letter," etc. In the latter the Editor of THE PEOPLE is attacked, although, in his refusal at the time, he stated that the contents did not guarantee the language used: Mr. Kinney refused to re-write the article in better language. But the Cleveland "Citizen," besides "An Open Letter," etc., published an editorial warning to the officers of the Metal Polishers' Union "to call down" Mr. Daly, the editor of the "Journal." It askes of the metal polishers and brassworkers to watch their "Journal," which request is timely, if not already too late. The mention made of this squib in THE PEOPLE says that "the rank and file must do quite some calling down." This is correct and why it is so will be clear after the following proof has been considered by those who are interested in the matter. That I have watched the "Journal" will then be clear, too, and I shall take the advice of the "Citizen" and watch it in the future to be able to do some more calling down.

In his article, Kinney claims that the writer of "Union Wreckers" had "not acquainted himself with facts" or that "he deliberately lied." He insinuates that the writer wanted to "satisfy some petty spite," that the trouble between him and the president was his own petty one, that E. J. Lynch's record for honesty and integrity is above attack, that his whole life was devoted to the labor movement, etc. He then calls the writer of the article "irresponsible," that he is "a person with a distorted mind," a "misrepresenter," a "falsifier," a person "who resorts to calumny," "a fool, a blatant fool," he even insinuates that the writer is not an honest member of "our organization." The article contains more of this kind of language than is necessary to mention. In the attack upon the Editor of THE PEOPLE he expresses his love for free speech, and he insinuates that THE PEOPLE has established a censorship because he was asked to re-write the article in different language.

That the writer of "Union Wreckers" did not lie and that he can defend and prove his position and the contents of the article "Union Wreckers," I shall now show. By looking up the Metal Polishers' "Journal" of October, 1896, page 21; of June, 1897, page 5 and 6; of November, 1897, page 3, etc., it is found that Lynch travels through the country, not to preach organization upon class lines for the working class interests, but to preach "harmony between Capital and Labor." It is shown there that he even calls upon the workers to fight and oppose those who do not find it to their benefit to let the capitalists have everything. And besides this, his remarks show that he considers it his duty to help the large capitalists to get the best of the smaller ones, when and wherever the smaller capitalists have advantages that weigh up against the more improved tools and the more improved system of production of the large capitalists. The following quotation of a speech of Lynch on page 3 of the November, 1897, "Journal" is especially interesting and it shows plainly that the pure and simpler Lynch represents "the boss class" as their agent. He says: "If you are willing to do your part the manufacturers will be willing to do theirs. My friends, it is your duty, and the duty of every brassworker in this country TO ASSIST THE MANUFACTURERS, for by assisting them you assist yourselves. It is not the duty of the manufacturer to come down to the bench and tell you to organize any more than it would be to tell you what church to go to. HE REALIZES THAT IF HE TOLD YOU THE LATTER, YOU WOULD SPURN THE OFFER, and in the former, knowing you to be an intelligent American workingman, BELIEVES YOU ADVANCED ENOUGH TO JOIN AN ORGANIZATION THAT WILL BENEFIT BOTH YOU AND HIS BUSINESS. THE TIME IS HERE WHEN MANUFACTURERS AND WORKINGMEN MUST UNITE."

The following is a quotation of Lynch's speech before the Erie Convention, see "Journal" of June, 1897, page 6: "'A foreman may be a good fellow, but the manufacturers of to-day think if he is a union man he is not watchful of their interests. They claim a man cannot serve two masters • • • It is our interest to see that no wrong or injustice is done the manufacturers; OUR INTEREST IS THEIRS."

The means employed by Lynch to get members for the organization which, says he, must work for the interest of the manufacturers, are best illustrated by the following quotation of a speech of Lynch, which may be found in the November, 1897, "Journal," page 3: "We come to-day to invite you into an organization that has one hundred branches with close unto ten thousand members scattered throughout the country." After the claim made here that the organiaztion has ten thousand members, Lynch claims in the "Journal" of February, 1897, pages 8 and 9, that the organization has seven thousand members. This shows that lies are employed by Lynch to get members. But the lie is a bigger one than appears. On page 273 of the February, 1898, "Journal" is the report of the receipts of the International Union. According to this report the International Polishers and Brassworkers' Union cannot have more than 3,423 members at the utmost, while the per capita tax paid by the International Union to the A. F. of L. amounts to from $8.75 to $10.00 per month. How is this for lying? Are these means, employed by Lynch, honest and honorable, or can anybody deny that if Lynch has "devoted his whole life to the labor movement," that it was, as an alder, abetter and pillar of capitalism?

Of course, Lynch is not the only one who is guilty of such lying. Carter did the same thing, but Lynch and, in fact, the rulers of the International Union, altogether, consented to it, or otherwise THEY WOULD HAVE CALLED CARTER AND LYNCH DOWN. And Kinney, of Cleveland, where was he? As a Socialist his voice should have been heard, since he is a member of the Executive Board, to protest against the work Lynch did for the "boss class."

A printed slip, dated February 1, 1898, headed: Office of Metal Polishers', etc., and signed, S. E. Carter, Secretary-Treasurer, gives the total of the referendum vote on the per capita fund question at 1,360 votes, while in the foot-note it says: "I have got to bolster this up in the "Journal" to let the public see that, at least, we are advancing, when in fact we are not. The figure 4 will appear before all the totals in the 'Journal.'" In the "Journal" of February, 1898, page 283, the same total vote is given at 9,360, while in the "Journal" of May, 1898, page 409, the total of the referendum vote on convention question is given at 9,565. Did Mr. Kinney, as a member of the Executive Board, object to the publishing of these false, misrepresenting and lying figures?

But now I will go on to investigate the aim Lynch had in view and the purpose to be accomplished by the introduction of the $25.00 per capita fund.

In the November, 1897, "Journal," page 22, in the report of the Elmira, N. Y., Union about a visit there of Lynch, it says: "After which he (Lynch) explained some difficult points not thoroughly understood, also the plan he has of each local having a fund of $25.00 per capita which he claims WILL AVOID SO MANY SUSPENSIONS." In the February, 1897, "Journal," pages 9 and 10, Lynch says: "If times were hard and men out of work they could have the secretary withdraw their dues out of the fund. • • • We would pay nothing to the International but the interest on the money deposited, while the local dues would be necessary to pay hall rent and stationery • • • A clause should be suggested that if a local wished or intended to disband, their funds should be distributed pro rata to the locals. • • • Having such a system working successfully our organization could place the initiation fee at $25.00. • • • This policy would put an end to petty grievances," etc.

The above quotations are not by any means the only remarkable admissions by Lynch as to the purpose and the objects of the fund, but they are sufficient to show and to prove that the object of creating the fund was TO ESTABLISH A PRINCIPAL, the interest on which should go to the International Union, to be paid out to Lynch and his helpers as salary; the principal to be subject to confiscation in three ways, 1) by claiming it, or part of it, for the International Union as additional initiation fee; 2) when the union disbands; and 3) through the regular dues system. If officers of local unions are allowed some consideration at all by Lynch, it is simply because he knows well enough that a successful business man must pay some of the profits he makes, back to agents for services performed; no man can be successful alone.

Out-of-work benefits are expensive schemes to introduce. Mr. Lynch opposes them as he opposes strikes; the International Union may be called upon to assist with funds and this leaves too little for the officers, but outside of that all fakirs favor nearly every scheme that will enable them to handle more money, not only because there are more drippings but, thanks, Mr. Lynch, for the information, it will make the workers more managable and will bind them to pure and simple organizations; they hate to lose the big sum invested. The workers' class interest in the overthrow of capitalism to obtain their full product for their labor must be diminished, or, if possible, counter- or over-balanced by the fear to lose that which they are led to believe to be their possessions. Does Mr. Kinney, as a Socialist, uphold all this? The report from Elmira shows that Lynch traveled to boom his scheme, is President Lynch paid for booming his private salary providing scheme? And does Mr. Kinney know that this happened in the middle of October, 1897, while the Detroit Union knew nothing about Lynch's plan, except from the "Journal," and that they had to rush things, when notified, in order to have their vote go on record on February 1, when the returns were published. A reversal even of Detroits vote would have given the majority to Lynch's per capita fund scheme and if Lynch and Carter and their satellites had had undisputed play, they would have carried the crowd along.

In regard to Mr. Kinney's answer about the colony scheme, I would advice that he re-read the article "Union Wreckers," and he may then find that the reply does not apply to the claim made therein. Although it is of no importance, it is interesting to notice that Lynch tries to show that he has earned his salary. He says that he saved the International Union $16.51, that he received $1,029.38 in little less than one-half a year and that, had the work been done according to the old system, without the president, it would have cost $1,045.89; see February, 1898, "Journal," page 262.

The fact is that if the work had been done by the nearest member of the Executive Board, the trip would not start from New York each time; much R. R. fare and many days' time, now figured in, although passed in the train, would have been saved; this would reduce the cost of settling difficulties much below Lynch's figure. In his account Lynch figures that the initiation fee belongs to him, this is strange, no other organizer ever got it, but it is a good indication as to what Lynch expects of a $25.00 initiation fee, when introduced.

In the proceedings of the Dayton, O., Convention, appears that many closed sessions were held, also that the secretary was instructed to bring two communications which appeared in the "Journal" under fictitious names, and a notice appears over J. J. Kinney's name which says that the proceedings of closed sessions and of sessions of the Executive Board will be forwarded on separate slips.

The fact is that Lynch was forced to admit that he wrote an article signed F. G. P. which was supposed to have come from Elizabeth, N. J. He says there: "Now in conclusion, Mr. Editor, we realize the aim of the circular is so the locals will call a convention," and in the "Journal" of May, 1898, page 413, appears a letter from W. C. Platell, Cleveland, in which is said: "At our last meeting our secretary read a communication from Local No. 1 (Detroit) which contained an article that they had sent to the Editor of the "Journal" for publication and he had refused it • • • it was only a criticism • • • how can President Lynch and Secretary Carter hope to escape?" (meaning criticism). Carter replies: "The letter from Bro. Compte was not used for such purposes, but to convey to the public the impression that your international officers were dishonest." In the "Journal" of February, 1898, page 263, Lynch says: "There are several objections raised of late by some of our members on account of the monthly financial reports not being sent from this office. • • • Several locals have sent protests claiming they did not owe so much."

But notwithstanding the proof that Lynch, as early as January, 1898, was aware of the fact that something was wrong with the finances, while Carter did not leave until the later part of June, and notwithstanding the fact that the constitution demands from the president "TO SIGN ALL ORDERS ON the International Secretary-Treasurer for legitimate expenditures," and notwithstanding that Section 2, Article 3, of the constitution says: "He (the president) shall at all times exercise a general supervision over all officers of the International and Local Unions. Requiring a faithful performance of duties and a strict and business-like manner of keeping all accounts," notwithstanding the fac that Lynch says, in October, 1897, "Journal," pages 18 and 19: "In visiting the different locals on my travels, I have found very few of them but at some time or another their funds have been misappropriated by the treasurer. • • • He had either skipped. • • • some offered no excuse. • • • but proud of their record in working the slow push," but notwithstanding all this, Lynch, in the "Journal" of July, 1898, page 7, offers the excuse that he "did think even then (at the convention) and until he was reported to have left not to return, that he (Carter) was an honest man. • • • Since he absconded there are several stories afloat, but it seems that those who could impart the information before to me did not do it, although if they had done so, things now would be different."

Lynch claims that friends gave Carter several hundred dollars to hold for them while he was in the office; this may be true and it may not, but Lynch's claim that Carter held several thousand dollars for the Labor Temple Committee, made in the same article, is greatly exaggerated. As anyone may see by the above, Lynch tries to squeeze out of it, but any body with a little common sense, if honest, must say that the above evidence allows positively no room for excuses. But, although Kinney knows all this, or should know it, although the proceedings of the closed sessions and the fictitious name record are known to Kinney, all this notwithstanding, he, the admirer of Free Press, of Free Speech, of Truth, of the noble cause of Socialism, of signing articles right, etc., he, the detester of libel and of press censorship, sticks up for, and tries to defend the man who is guilty of all these detestable faults that he claims for the writer of the article "Union Wreckers," by employing libel, and all the qualities he hates.

That the officers cannot be relied on to do the "calling down" can be seen on Kinney's case; the salaried Secretary-Treasurer, although a Socialist who carries the red button with the Arm and Hammer in his pants' pocket to be able to prove his Socialism, sticks to the salaried President, although he is admittedly a pillar of capitalism. So long as such men are left alone, one may talk all he wants, he will not accomplish anything because capitalism rests upon them. In fact, they are to capitalism what a foundation and the walls are to a house. The rank and file of the labor movement is sound; any movement, any organization built upon them for a foundation must be sound, and it cannot be so unless it is so built upon the rank and file as the ones who do the "calling down."

M. MEYER.
361 Hendrichs street.
Detroit, Mich, Nov. 5.

To circulate the Almanac.

To THE PEOPLE.—The field of the Socialist Almanac could be very much extended, by every member of the party constituting himself a committee of one to inquire whether it was on sale at every news stand and book dealers.

If there is an inquiry for the Almanac, book sellers will keep it on hand.

The constant demand of Socialists for this book will certainly lead to every dealer carrying it and keeping it prominently displayed.

I take the opportunity of suggesting this method to the comrades and think the results would be good.

A. S. B.
Brooklyn, Nov. 4.

Will Sections Lynn and Boston, Mass., Answer.

To THE PEOPLE.—Kindly insert an answer in THE PEOPLE'S "Letter Box" on the following questions:

How long was Rev. H. Kasson a member of our party? Why was he expelled?

The same questions in reference to Rev. W. D. P. Bliss.

A. B.
Boston, Mass., Oct. 31.

Politics in Kansas, Labor Fakirs Set up there too as Stool Pigeons.

To THE PEOPLE.—Would our friends like to hear from "Bleedin' Kansas"? I grant they would. The campaign is nearing a close and is waxing warm. The parties of capitalism are trying to pull the workers away from the S. L. P., and it is a harder job than they presumed. The Reps have patted us on the back, so to speak, and called us good and honest people, but, of course, "misled"; and the confusion gang, going by the name of Demo-Pop, have resorted to all manner of trickery. It would be taking up too much space to name all the schemes used to keep us from being heard. They started all sorts of slanderous reports about our petition that gives us a place of the blanket ballot, but, failing in this, they certified to the name of our party falsely, so as to make it appear that we are not a part of the National S. L. P. So we will vote for "Socialist Labor" when it should be the "Socialist Labor party." The latest turn in this part (the mining district) is, they have put a fake labor organizer after the pattern of pure and simpledom and advised them "to stay out of politics." I do not feel discouraged by this, but, on the other hand, it gives me much encouragement, for it is a sifting of the chaff from the grain. Where our meetings are advertised we have good crowds and most excellent attention. I send greetings to the working comrades of the East, and promise them that the Jayhawkers will be found in line of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

C. LIPSCOMB.
Pittsburg, Kan., Nov. 5.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

64 East Fourth Street, N. Y.

K. Marx and F. Engels: The Communist Manifesto; 10 cents.
Karl Marx: Wage-Labor and Capital; 5 cents.
Karl Marx: A Discourse on Free Trade; 25 cents.
Karl Marx: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon; 25 cents.
Frederick Engels: The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science; 5 cents.
Ferdinand Sassalle: The Workingman's Programme; 10 cents.
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Paul Lafargue: The Right to be Lazy; 10 cents.
Eleanor Marx Aveling: The Working Class Movement in England; 10 cents.
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Artemus Ward: Complete Works; 25 cents.
W. D. Howells: A Traveler from Altruria; 50 cents.
Edward Bellamy: Looking Backward; 50 cents.
Edward Bellamy: Equality; $1.25.
Daniel De Leon: What Means This Strike?; 5 cents.
Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party in 1896; 10 cents.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

REJECTED, OF COURSE.

The New York "Evening Journal," one of the yellow papers that talks just enough radicalism to deceive the unwary and make them believe it means what it says, propounded about a month ago the question, "Shall Wives Work?" and it published every sloppy answer that suited its own fraudulent designs. One Socialist, to test the "Journal's" sincerity wrote an answer. That answer was rejected. Here it is:

Editor of "Evening Journal."—Being thoroughly impressed with the importance of the subject "Shall Wives Work?" now under discussion in the columns of the "Evening Journal" and presuming that you mean work other than that in the category of household duties, I take this opportunity of expressing my views on the subject.

At the latter part of the last century the economic circle was almost wholly composed of the miller, the shoemaker, and the blacksmith; all the other needs of the family were supplied by the members of the family, all using their implements of production individually, but enjoying the results of their labor collectively; thus forming an economic circle wherein one portion of the family produced the raw material, while the other portion did the spinning, weaving, etc.; in other words, turned the raw material into the finished article. About this time the home circle was rudely shattered by the invention of the "spinning jenny," and in rapid succession by many other wonderful inventions, calculated to do the work much cheaper and better than formally. Here the factory received its birth, and with it the home circle received its death, as the effect of the factory system upon the home was the dragging of its members from their individual system of production for use and compelling them to produce collectively for profit, not for themselves, but for the owners of the different inventions. From that period of time to the present, the development of machinery has ben wonderful, and the machine has become so simplified by subdivision as to make the skilled workman a superfluity—as, for instance, the Mergenthaler type-setting machine, used in conjunction with the wonderful printing presses of to-day, and also to make the matter of physical strength a matter of little importance. The result is what? For answer I refer you to the different towns known as she-towns, where, with few exceptions, the employees are women and children most miserably paid.

In answer to the query "Shall Wives Work" I invite you to look back to the New Bedford strike, and what will you see? You will see at a glance that, instead of asking "Shall Wives Work?", you should declare that wives must work if they desire to keep body and soul together. I wish I could say live, but such an expression would be out of place. Here we have husband, wife and children working long dreary hours for a bare existence, and in spite of this we have the same newspaper that told us of the horrors of that strike asking "Shall Wives Work?"

If your question were in order it would imply that the father and husband received ample remuneration in return for his work, thereby enabling him to support his family in comfort from his efforts alone, and that it were optional with the wife whether she work or not, in order that they enjoy greater luxury, or perhaps save something for a rainy day. Such a presumption is entirely at variance with the facts. We find people "doubling up" with one another in order to save rent, thereby enabling them to prolong the fight against their oppressors, the owners of the machines.

"Shall Wives Work?" Let us look over the economic field, and what do we see? We see the husband driven on the street and kept there in idleness, and his wife dragged from the home, his children torn from the school to take his place in the factory. We see children in the glass factory at the tender age of seven years and dying a premature death before they have lived a quarter of a centry, our "child labor" laws to the contrary, notwithstanding. We hear the owner of the machine declaring that he prefers to employ mothers of families because they are less rebellious, and are more easily handled, meaning, of course, that he would shut off the meagre supply of food from her children by discharging her, thereby using the most noble trait of the human character—the love of a mother for her child—to keep her in subjection. We hear the president of the railroad say: "We shall win this strike, because if you put a dollar on the shelf and go at the end of six months to see what you have left, you will find the dollar still there, but if you put a workman on the shelf for six months, at the end of that time you will find a skeleton."

Do you think that the wives of those employees are confronted with the problem, "Shall They Work?" I rather think they are face to face with the command, "You Must Work, or Prostitute Yourselves or Starve."

So much for your question and its misapplication. And now, previous to concluding, just a word on the cause of these prevailing conditions which I have stated: It is, as I mentioned in the commencement of my letter, production carried on by individual instruments of production, the individual craftsmen owning and operating them. With the advent of machinery in production it became impossible for the individual workman to own and operate the same, as, in the first place, it required a large amount of wealth to become posessed of the machine, and in the second place it required the co-operative efforts of several workers to use the machine. The result was that only a comparative few could obtain possession of the means of production, which are absolutely necessary to all in order that they may live, hence, it is very apparent that those who owned the tools, could compel those who did not, to pay them whatever price they (the owners) saw fit to demand for the privilege of using the tools. At the present day, what is the price that the owner of the tools of production and distribution demands from the workers? He demands all that they (the workers) produce with the exception of enough to permit them to live and reproduce their kind so that production will not cease when they have worn themselves out. The results of this unjust distribution of the wealth, which labor, with the aid of machinery, has produced, are manifold, the most conspicuous of which are a few multi-millionaires in the one hand, and on the other an ever increasing army of unemployed (interpreted by law "tramps"), prostitutes, insane persons, suicides and an alarming increase in crime; and right into these two extremes the absurd question "Shall Wives Work?" is now thrown!

And so the conditions that make your question appear so ridiculous to me will continue to go on from bad to worse, till the wage-workers become intelligent enough to recognize and grasp the only remedy that will right their wrongs, and make it unnecessary for them to ask "Shall My Wife Work?", and that remedy is to substitute the collective ownership of the land, and the tools of production, distribution and transportation, for the private ownership of the same, as now held, thereby making it unnecessary to pay tribute to a worthless and tool-owning class; and to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth in place of the insane method of competition under which we now labor.

DAVID ACASTER, Old Place.
Mariner's Harbor, S. I., N. Y.

CONFISCATION.

(Continued from page 1.)

of one hundred years, all human activities; and yet how many are not the remnants of antiquated forms of production that still preserve their existence.

Just as soon as the fear disappears of being flung into the class of the proletariat if an independent industry is abandoned; just as soon as the prejudices existing to-day against large production disappear by reason of the advantages which the social ownership of large production would bestow upon all, just as soon as every body has the opportunity of sharing these advantages, only fools will endeavor to preserve old and ineffective forms of production.

That which capitalist large production has failed to accomplish in a hundred years, socialist large production will accomplish in no time, i. e., the absorption of all industries that are still carried on with inferior methods; and this end will be reached, not through ruin, misery and expropriation, but by the natural power of attraction exercised by superior methods.

In such remote nooks and corners, where farming is carried on mainly for self-consumption, such a system may continue for sometime after the introduction of socialist society; but it would not be long before the advantages to be derived from socialist large production would be felt even in such places.

With regard to agriculture, especially, the transition from small to large production will be greatly hastened and made easy by the steadily progressing disappearance of the contrast between city and country, and by the tendency of locating industries in convenient places.

PHILOSOPHY.

(Continued from page 3.)

FIVE HOURS A DAY all that is needed from a materialistic standpoint to convert this country and all others, as fully developed, into Social Edens.

In order to insure this a political revolution is needed by which and through which restitution shall be made to society of that of which society has been dispoiled, viz., all the social and natural opportunities and this in turn will mean the completion of the economic revolution that has been going on since the advent of labor-saving machinery. For then again will the method of ownership harmonize with the method of production and exchange.

This revolution in the United States, the republics and constitutional governments throughout the world, where universal suffrage exists, can and will be accomplished peacefully by the ballot, providing the capitalist class is willing to submit to the doctrine taught by them and their paid attorneys in this country for 100 years, viz., that constitutional majorities should rule; on the contrary, in despotic countries force will be needed to remove the capitalist incubus from the shoulders of the militant proletariat. In either case as soon as the period of incubation is complete and the shell containing the Socialist chick shall have been cracked, we have no doubt as to who will gain possession of the social barnyard.

In conclusion we would say, no power can stay the progress of the social revolution, it is folly to combat it, the wise will not attempt it, as they fully realize that "nature did not argue with the monkey when eliminating its tail."

New York.

Subscriptions for the "Workers' Republic," the Irish Socialist weekly paper, are received at the Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, New York City. Subscription price for one year, $1.50; for 6 months, 75 cents; single copies, 3 cents.

Socialist Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. 50 cents per year. Weekly.
The Class Struggle, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. 50 cents per year. Weekly.
The Tocsin, 412 Northwestern Building, Minneapolis, Minn. 50 cents per year. Weekly.
Justice, Richmond, Va. 40 cents per year. Weekly.

GERMAN.

N. Y. Volkszeitung, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. Daily and Sunday. $6 and $2 per year respectively.
Vorwaerts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year. Weekly.
Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. $2 per year. Weekly.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. $1.50 per year. Weekly.

ITALIAN.

Il Proletario, 296 Market street, Paterson, N. J. $1 per year. Weekly.

SWEDISH.

Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year. Weekly.

POLISH.

Silа, 550 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. $1 per year. Weekly.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. 75 cents per year. Weekly.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 538 East Fifth street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year. Weekly.

BOHEMIAN.

Pravda, 414 E. 71st street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year. Weekly.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone, and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor Party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten persons may organize themselves into a section, provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and corresponding secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary Agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial Report.
5.—Report of Organizer
6.—Report of Committees.
7.—Unfinished Business.
8.—New Business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each section. A monthly remittance of ten cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of membres, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita, is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the section.

7. Each section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as members at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary, Henry Kuhn,
184 William street, New York City.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitutions in English, German and Polish (with platform).... 50c. per 100
Constitution Jewish (without platform) ..... 40c. per 100
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When ordering supplies, enclose the cash it takes time to keep credit accounts, send out bills (perhaps a number of times before collection is made), and all this time, postage and effort may be employed to a better purpose.

The emblem buttons and the pins are not sent out on credit under any circumstances. They are sold by the N. Y. State Committee, which committee keeps no credit accounts of any kind.

Address all orders to: HENRY KUHN,
184 William street, New York, N. Y.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

Socialist Literature.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms, $1.50 per thousand.

1.—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2.—"Socialism," by William Watkins.
3.—"Why American Workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4.—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5.—"Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6.—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7.—"Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8.—"An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
9.—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
10.—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish).
11.—"Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions."
"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price, 1 cent per copy; 1,000 copies, $5.
"Women in the Past, Present and Future," by August Bebel. 25c.
"The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels. 5c.
"The Proletariat," "The Class Struggle," "The Capitalist Class," "The Co-operative Commonwealth," by Carl Kautsky, adapted by Daniel De Leon. Each 5c.
"Capital," by Carl Marx. 4 parts. Each 30c. Cloth, $1.75.
"The Eighteenth Brumaire," by Carl Marx. 25c.
"What Means this Strike?" Address delivered by Daniel De Leon in New Bedford, Mass. 5c.
"Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 5 cents.
"Erin's Hope. The End and the Means," by James Connolly. 5c.
Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the S. L. P. 10c.
"Manifesto of the Communist Party," by Carl Marx and Frederick Engels. 10c.
"History of the Paris Commune," by Lissagaray. $3.00.
"History of the Paris Commune," by G. B. Benham. 25c.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

BOSTON, MASS.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following places:
Geo. G. Leavitt, 183 Harrison avenue.
John Braithwaite, 84 West Canton street.
Cohens, 935 Washington street.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
—OF THE—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be excempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment ofchildren of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities(county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

Every Wageworker

Is vitally interested in the economic problems of production and distribution. He must study economics; he must study Socialism, if he expects to act a man's part and do his share toward emancipating the working class from wage-slavery. A good way to learn is to read

THE TOCSIN

The Northwestern Advocate of the Socialist Labor Party

The Tocsin is issued every Thursday, under the direction of the S. L. P. of Minnesota. It will contain

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In order to accommodate comrades who wish to subscribe to two or more of the party's organs, we have made arrangements for reduced rates as follows: THE PEOPLE (50c.) and the "Tocsin" (50c.) both for 80c. a year; THE PEOPLE and the "Class Struggle" ("New Charter") (50c.) both for 80c. a year; or all three (at regular rates $1.50) for $1.20 a year.

These offers will remain in force until withdrawn by notice in these columns.

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DENTIST,
121 Schermerhorn Str., Brooklyn, N. Y

Trades' and Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Duane street, Room 96, New York City. General Secretary: William L. Brower. Financial Secretary-Treasurer: Patrick Murphy. General Executive Board meetings: 1st, 3rd and 5th Thursday evening at 8 p. m. Secretary Board of Appeals: Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF NEW YORK. Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 E. 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the Corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

21st WARD, BRANCH 2, S. L. P., Brooklyn. Lectures on political, economic and social questions at the Club House, 207 Myrtle avenue, every Sunday evening. Regular meeting every first and third Monday.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 331 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 10 Stanton street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III. meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 86th street, every Saturday at 7.30 p. m.—District IV. meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Vathauer's Hall, 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
Secretary— PETER STAPER

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 10 p. m. at the same hall. Telephon Call: 1781 Spring street.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1. D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 9 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; F. Woll, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Lyons, Business agent.

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8½ o'clock at
231-233 E. 33d Street.

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a.m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 154—160 3. Ave., New York City. Subscriptions orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly SCAND. AM ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 4th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Tailors Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum.—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M.

The Socialist Educational Society of Yorkville meets every Monday evening at 206 E. 86th St. This society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.
WORKMEN'S
Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $3 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.00 for 40 weeks and of $4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with intermission. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances a benefit of the length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is granted for each member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists a new branch can be formed by 25 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd avenue, Room 53, New York City.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is:
Reinhard Lachner, 13 Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City.
Office hours: Monday and Friday, 1—6 o'clock P. M.—Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday, 8—12 A. M. and 1—5.30 P. M.

WORKMEN'S
Furniture Fire Insurance
Organized 1872. Membership 10,000.
Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 East Fourth street. Office hours, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M.
BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, Oneida, N. Y. Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South Amboy, Passaic and Trenton, N. J. Manchester, N. H.
Adams, Boston, Holyoke, Springfield, Mass. New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Hartford, and Bridgeport, Conn.
Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Lancaster, Altoona, Pa.
Chicago, Ill.
Cleveland, Ohio.
For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers see "Vorwärts."

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